All Wealth Belongs to God

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE ZAMINDARS

(*By Gandhiji*)

I do not want to destroy the zamindar, but neither do I feel that the zamindar is inevitable. I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalists by the non-violent method, and therefore there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go along the line of least resistance. The moment the cultivators of the soil realize their power, the zamindari evil will be sterilized. What can the poor zamindar do when they say that they will simply not work the land unless they are paid enough to feed and clothe and educate themselves and their children in a decent manner? In reality the toiler is the owner of what he produces. If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power. That is how I do not see the necessity of class conflict. If I thought it inevitable, I should not hesitate to preach it and teach it. (*Harijan*, 5-12-'36)

A model zamindar would at once reduce much of the burden the ryot is now bearing. He would come in intimate touch with the ryot and know their wants and inject hope into them in the place of despair which is killing the very life out of them. He will not be satisfied with the ryot's ignorance of the laws of sanitation and hygiene. He will reduce himself to poverty in order that the ryot may have the necessaries of life. He will study the economic condition of the ryots under his care, establish schools in which he will educate his own children side by side with those of the ryots. He will purify the village well and the village tank. He will teach the ryot to sweep his roads and clean his latrines by himself doing this necessary labour. He will throw open without reserve his own gardens for the unrestricted use of the ryot. He will use as hospital, school or the like most of the unnecessary buildings which he keeps for his pleasure. If only the capitalist class will read the signs of the times, revise their notions of God-given right to all they possess, in an incredibly short space of time the seven hundred thousand dung-heaps which today pass muster as villages can be turned into abodes of peace, health and comfort. I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain. There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert. (*Young India*, 5-12-'29)

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' WORRY

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

A valued friend and co-worker from Maharashtra, sent me for publication a note, entitled "Decontrol and Congress Workers". It was when the Union Food Minister Shri Kidwai was discussing, or say thinking aloud, with various State ministries and public workers about decontrol in some commonly agreed manner. That state is now passed, thanks to the victory of the planning experts at the Centre over Shri Kidwai's proposal for change in the Union's food policy. However it does not bring the matter at rest, as there seems to be no convincing or clear objective of the policy as it obtains at present, and under such circumstances it is a doubtful if not a dangerous proposition to be guided by experts who are proverbially one-sided. Workers are therefore naturally worried over this state of affairs, and hence the questions raised by the note mentioned above still remain with us. I replied to this note by a personal letter, to which the friend has replied by now. Relevant parts of the note and my reply to it are given below:

I

Decontrol and Congress Workers

"The Union Food Minister while in Poona last week very lucidly and emphatically explained his "Decontrol Policy" to a Representative Group of responsible workers.

The Food Minister is strongly convinced of the inevitability of the reorientation of the control policy leading to gradual decontrol.

Most of the eminent economists including the members of the Advisory Council of the Planning Commission are, it seems, against decontrol particularly of food grains. The workers' mind is naturally divided. Propaganda, main motive of which is political, is also going on in the country. That prejudices clear thinking and right judgment.

It is a fact that controls form the basis of planned economy. But is it not a fact that planned economy

itself requires certain pre-requisites, for its effective functioning? Correct data and a reliable executive machinery are the two most essential things for this functioning. Unfortunately in India today both these things have been found wanting.

The controls as we have seen them during the past few years have not only taxed the State coffer very heavily but have also immensely damaged our morals. Gandhiji had in his own way perceived these dangers very quickly and had also warned against them. The Government had lifted the controls, but the experiment was a short one.

Today the objective conditions have changed and we have also seen that the controls are not being operated effectively and in a healthy manner. They have also failed in supplying proper incentive to production. Here also the advice of the economists not to increase prices of food grains has not proved useful.

(Thus) the present state of affairs under control is also most unsatisfactory and the gradual decontrol policy has a fair chance of success. This may relieve the country from a very huge economic burden and also a perpetual source of moral degradation. It is this factor which the worker must take into consideration before finally coming to any conclusion." (Poona, 29-10-'52)

My reply (dated 5-11-'52) to the note given above is reproduced below:

II

Our True Objective

"I quite agree with you that the question of food-control is very vital and demands our closest consideration and attention. You will agree with me that this question is very difficult, specially because experts are keenly divided on this matter and statistics, if there are any worth the name, are conflicting if not misleading or wrong. Again the trade interests and the interests of bureaucracy as well are a factor demanding their own consideration. The matter at present is whether a policy of decontrol, or whatever it is, that is being thought of by Shri Kidwai is helpful today or whether the economists who advised the Planning Commission are right in their fears regarding Shri Kidwai's proposals. I, for myself and speaking personally, am worried about how it will affect poor farmers, landless labourers and tenants who have to depend on local supply of corn. As you probably know when summer sets in, very many of these are hard-pressed for supply as they cannot have work and therefore no purchasing power. These were assured of some supply by Government through their control policy. Again a very pernicious feature of our rural economy has been that by the time harvest is over, the poor peasants have to sell away their corn to local traders in order to pay the revenue and debt charges etc. The prices offered are very low indeed. A few months after they have to buy back their own cereals at a considerably high price. This has been a feature of our rural peasant economy for generations on till now. Obviously, this is not in the interest of the peasant but is in the interest of trade and commerce. The question before me was and really is to find out how to remedy this state of affairs in a permanent way and in the interest of the poor consumer. Can control, whatever its nature, help us? Can we find out a way so to control and direct as to bring about a better state of affairs in this sector of our rural economy? The study of controls as obtaining at present from this point of view is, I think, very necessary before we can formulate our own mind on this question.

I quite agree with you that a policy of control is more criticized for the defects and incapacity in implementing it rather than for some specific drawback of its own. It is a common feature of our social behaviour at present that the moment there is regulation or control in some manner, it reacts in the growth of black-market, hoarding and cornering, bribery etc. This is almost uncontrollable by Government measures. Therefore, it is better for Government to restrict in their own interest the nature of control and not aim too high. From that point of view it seems that the careful and cautious line for some decontrol may be advisable at this stage. It is bound to be well received by our people. But ultimately it is true that some kind of overall control in the interest of the poor must be there in the hands of the popular Government, unless trade interests can take that responsibility of supplying food in an honest manner. Can Government take that responsibility constituted as it is today? Can we rely on trade interests doing their job well? These are the questions on the answers to which ultimately will depend the fate of our food policy, whatever it is."

20-11-'52

BACKWARD CLASS DEPARTMENT OF BOMBAY STATE

(*By P. L. Mazumdar*)

The Annual report of the working of the Backward Class Department, State of Bombay, for the years 1947-'48, 1948-'49 and 1949-'50 is out.

The Department deals with the welfare of all the three shades of Backward Classes, viz., the Scheduled Castes (Harijan), the Scheduled Tribes (*Adivasis*), and others. The period under report covers the time when a large area of about 37,000 square miles was added to the old Bombay Province, adding a total population of about 83 lakhs of people of whom about 21 lakhs are Backward Classes. As the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed in 1949, the persons coming under that Act were also added to the list of Backward Classes. Thus the total population of B. C. people in Bombay State now comes to 75 lakhs out of the total of 292 lakhs according to 1941 census.

This Department is now headed by the Director of Backward Class Welfare and he works with the help of 5 divisional Assistants and 17 district Backward Class Welfare officers. Their duty is to look after the interests of Backward Classes in all direction. These officers are also expected to inspect all aided B. C. hostels in the State which are 167 in number and are run by voluntary agencies working in the State, and which receive State aid.

The report describes the progress made by B. C. boys and girls in the field of primary, secondary, and teachers' training college education.

Another important field of work in which the Department is supposed to take interest is improving the economic condition of B. C. classes. This is to be done chiefly by securing agricultural lands for these people. The question of securing housing sites for B. C.s in villages by forming co-operatives or otherwise also receives the attention of the Department. The special problem for Harijans, i.e. Scheduled Castes people among B. C.s, is the removal of untouchability and the Department is expected to make propaganda and secure civic rights for Harijans. For the Scheduled Tribes, i.e. the *Adivasis*, the problem is to remove them from the clutches of jungle contractors and others who exploit them economically

and so Government encourages voluntary agencies working among them to start co-operative societies for cutting jungle wood and making charcoal etc. The report narrates the progress made in this direction.

It would be better for the Department if it tries to give figures about actual achievement in the various types of work that is being done. As the financing of various schemes through which Backward Classes are helped is being done through different Departments, it is difficult to see actual figures of total financial help rendered to Backward Classes. It is good to see from the Report that on the whole, the Department is doing useful work in safeguarding the interests of Backward Classes in the State, which is its statutory duty.

14-8-'52

REORIENTATION OF THE A. I. S. A. WORK

(*By A. V. Sahasrabuddhe*)

The activities of A.I.S.A. till now were confined to the production and sale of Khadi along with the propagation of scientific and self-sufficiency aspects of Khadi. But lately a crisis has developed in Khadi centres, locking up invested capital in the accumulated stocks of Khadi. In some places payment of the wages to the spinners is suspended for the last six months and at others the production of Khadi has to be curtailed. The accumulated stock is estimated at Rs 60 lakhs. In some centres acute famine conditions prevail and yet Khadi work had to be stopped. In some places nobody offers to buy yarn even for 1½ annas per hank which was previously sold for 3½ annas to 4 annas. In Bihar about 80,000 spinners have become unemployed now and the Bihar Khadi Samiti had to retrench about 250 workers.

Faced with this crisis we are now called upon to go to the root of the problem and reorient our basic policy.

The question now before us is how to dispose of the stock and provide work to the artisans. On previous occasions of similar crises, we resorted to hawking from door to door and issuing *hundis*. These may be resorted to even at present. But we must go deeper up to the root cause of this recurring crisis in Khadi work and find out a permanent and radical remedy. This is possible only when the villagers work towards the achievement of village self-sufficiency. It requires educating our village folk. We have, therefore, now to apply ourselves to that work. The workers till now did serve the village people by buying yarn from the spinners and getting it woven into Khadi. But it was only a small bit of relief. This way, the spinners could not organize themselves and stand on their own feet with self-confidence. We see today the helpless condition of weavers also. Thousands as they are, though they are deprived of the meagre daily earning they used to get, they do not raise a voice of protest. On the other hand we know how the industrial workers react when there is even a small cut in their wages.

The Charkha Sangh has now launched the Khadi Movement in the villages from the 16th September last to make them understand the present situation and their duty to use the local village products for the welfare of the village. This will help them organize the boycott of mill-cloth and city-made articles. The workers of the Charkha Sangh should now apply themselves in the propagation of the idea of village self-sufficiency in villages.

The All India Khadi Board, if it desires to function successfully, should undertake the following responsibilities :

1. The Government should buy all the surplus yarn of the spinner after meeting his or her cloth requirements, under normal conditions. But in times of extreme famine conditions, the Government shall undertake to buy the entire yarn of the spinner, so long as it cannot give any other alternative employment to these spinners.
2. The Government should be prepared, for this purpose, to enforce some effective method of control over the textile mills.
3. The Government should persuade their officers to take to Khadi dress as the national dress. It should make arrangements to purchase Khadi alone for all its departmental requirements.
4. Keeping in view the fundamental principle behind Khadi, the Government should give protection to all cottage industries along with Khadi. It should also make it a rule to buy cottage industry products only in all its purchases for stores.

However Government efforts alone will not be enough to attain the idea of self-sufficiency. Government cannot solve the widespread unemployment prevailing in the country, without the active co-operation of the people. We should therefore educate the masses to that end. If the people realize their duty to themselves and put forth organized efforts, their collective organized strength will compel the Government to implement this programme if for any reason it is not willing to do so. But if the Government accepts it their organized efforts will give strength to the Government to achieve the ideal.

Till now we have been selling in towns all the Khadi produced in the villages. In future also we may continue to sell a portion of it in towns. But if the production of Khadi is to be increased on a wide scale throughout the country it should be done only with the object of village self-sufficiency. Thus only will the Khadi Movement pave the way for *Gramarajya*.

Naturally Bhoodan Yajna will also come in our programme of work. For full employment to all the villagers, equitable distribution of land is also necessary. Both these programmes will enable the villagers to progress towards complete self-sufficiency.

Sevagram,

(Abridged)

HARIJAN

Nov. 29 1952

ALL WEALTH BELONGS TO GOD

(*By Vinoba*)

It was on the 28th day of April, 1951, that the idea of launching the Bhoodan Movement flashed into my mind. And it may now be safely said that it has drawn the attention of the people all over the country and won their approval. From *Bhoomidan* to *Sampattidan* (i.e. from land-gift to gift of wealth) was a natural step, and the idea that along with Bhoodan, I should also ask for *Sampattidan* did occur to me and held my mind. But the land-problem was a basic one and I saw that unless something was done to meet it, it might develop into a big danger detrimental to the security of the nation. I, therefore, thought it fit first to concentrate my energy only on that question. Besides, in case of land, all could easily see that it was the direct gift of God. Again, it is the basic factor in the production of wealth. This was another reason, why, in the beginning, I preferred to limit myself to the land-problem alone. Moreover, to proceed step by step was also in keeping with the technique of Ahimsa.

But as the work of Bhoodan progressed, it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is upto the people to decide what they can and will give me. The idea behind the demand is that all wealth, even though we may acquire it with our individual effort and skill, is not for us alone, but has been granted to us by God for all of us. The energy and initiative which went into the making of this wealth are themselves a gift of God.

I have said on and again in the course of my walking tours that I do not want money. Now however I am asking for a portion of wealth. How are the two to be reconciled then? The answer is that I am not going to take charge of it; nor will I shoulder the responsibility of managing and spending it and keeping the accounts. I will remain free as always. I also do not envisage creating trusts as is often done in the case of funds collected for public good. There is another vital difference between these funds which are raised from time to time for various purposes and this *Sampattidan Yajna*: it is this that a portion of the income will have to be donated to this *yajna* recurringly year after year. I have therefore decided that the money will remain with the donor himself, but he will use it as we want him to do, and annually render us the account. It means that the donor will not only donate a portion of his property, but also give us the benefit of his skill and intelligence in the use of it. It is true I want the donor to spend the money as we desire him to do, but he may also put forward his suggestions in this regard.

Obviously, I am putting the entire responsibility on the donor himself and am proceeding on trust in his integrity. The critics may find fault with this procedure. But then righteousness cannot stand on anything other than trust. No legal safeguards can give us the protection which trust can. It is from this point of view that I have laid down this procedure.

Those, who desire to take part in this movement should do so joyfully, after fully satisfying themselves and after consulting other members of their family. I believe that if men of faith and goodwill come forward and help the movement grow, then this idea which opens out a new way of life will spread in our country and pave the way for *Samya Yoga* — social equality. And in that belief, I put it forward for consideration by the good and the virtuous.

(From Hindi)

THE IDEAL OF NON-POSSESSING SOCIETY *

(*By Vinoba*)

The work I am doing is based on the perception of a certain philosophy of life. No idea would endure for long unless it probed deep into the root of the matter. And so I have been continuously meditating in quest of the root of the change that we want to bring about in society, and having got at it, I go about my work with a firm step. No problem frightens me, for I believe that there is no human problem but can be solved by human intelligence.

Non-possession *vs.* Divestment

The ideology which seems to be in ascendent at the moment and which stands pitted against my teaching may be called *Apaharana* — divestment. Advocates of this ideology believe that ultimately the individual is for the society and therefore there is nothing wrong in divesting him of his property; rather whatever goes against this idea of divestment is wrong. Today good many countries of the world have been drawn to this doctrine. As against this, I put forth the ideology of *Aparigraha* — non-possession.

Theft and Property

It is generally held (quite wrongly of course) that non-possession is only for *sannyasis* — ascetics like Gandhi and Vinoba; the common mass of people cannot do without possession. That is why though we respect the *sannyasis*, we do not follow them; though we accept *sannyasa* as the ultimate ideal of life, in our mundane world possession continues to hold the field. When a truth is thus truncated and accepted only in part, it can yield only partial good. The result has been that to fight an evil, one is led to take recourse to the very evil one wants to drive out. And if we succeed even in such an attempt, we only succeed in destroying it physically, but immortalize its essential spirit. Hence at present greed and possession are the order of the day, the ruling principle the world over. What is more, an imposing legal frame-work has been raised around it giving it a look of respectability, and therefore it does not strike one as wrong. We consider stealing to be a crime, but connive at those who encourage this anti-social activity by amassing heaps of money. In a story in the Upanishad a king says: "In my kingdom, there is neither a thief, nor a miser." As we know, it is the miser who gives rise to the thief. We condemn the thieves to rot in the prison-house, but let their creators roam about in complete freedom. They even occupy seats

* Speech delivered at Tikari (Bihar).

of honour and respectability in society. Is this justice? The Gita calls them thieves, but then we have put it away as the book of the *sannyasis* with which we are not concerned.

Possessing through Dedication

As at the time of putting oblations into the sacrificial fire we say, "This is for Indra, not for me", so we should say of whatever we produce in fields or factories that "This is for the community, for the nation; it is not for me." We should dedicate all that we have to society. And then, what we receive back from society according as we need will be life-giving like nectar.

An Anomaly of the Present Order

This is the ideal, but what do we find actually? The highly expensive administrative and other departments of the Government are known as 'services'. And there are services galore: Civil Service, Medical Service, Educational Service. The officials of the Civil Service are paid four figure salaries, while their masters the poor of the country whom they profess to serve have to live on a pittance of annas 8 a day. It is a tragic paradox that those who earn lakhs are called servants, while those who produce food for the nation are regarded as self-seekers who work merely to feather their nest. What is one to say of these 'services'? If words are not to be deprived of their meaning, then this is nothing but cant and hypocrisy. It is in order to put an end to this hypocrisy that I have put forward the idea of land being the common property of all. All that we have, our land and property and intelligence; everything has to be an offering to society. Let there be no fear that non-possession will impoverish us. It will surely enrich us as members of a community, though not as individuals with separate interests. Thus shall we, on the basis of non-possession, build up a grand and beautiful society. My mission of land-gift is to achieve this great end.

Changing Order through Non-possession

Today he who earns money, does also earn worry and disease. Though he may make money, he loses something more precious than money, viz. the love of his fellowmen, the love of friends and neighbours. That is why even the moneyed are unhappy in the existing society. Both the rich and the poor are unhappy. The remedy is to change the order and place it on the secure basis of non-possession.

I should caution you against a possible misconception. What I am propounding is an ethical idea. I want you to set yourselves free from attachment and accept non-possession to the greater good of society. It should not therefore be assumed that we have to approach only those who have heaps of wealth. Attachment may lurk even in a loin-cloth. Therefore we have to go to every one irrespective of whether he is rich or poor and convince him of the truth of this idea and secure gift-deeds. These gift-deeds will betoken the acceptance of this new way of life, — a documentary evidence of it.

Non-possessing Social Order

When people get so far prepared as to offer their all to society, we will build up a Government which will not need to seek help from America, nor the paper-money from the Nasik Press. Every Indian home will be its bank. People will readily comply with whatever demand it may choose to make on them. People will leave all their worries to the care of society and be themselves free from any worry or insecurity. But today they are not prepared for it. So to begin with, I have placed my demand at only one-sixth of one's property. I had declared quite early about a year and a half ago, that I was going the way of Lord Vaman.* My first step was *bhoodan*, next is this *sampattidan* i.e. donation of property; I will take a third step which will be nothing less than surrender of everything in the interest of the poor, the acceptance of poverty that all may equally partake of God's good riches.

(Adapted from Hindi)

*An incarnation of Vishnu, literally a dwarf. He covered the whole universe in three steps.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Mr Petrick Gordon Walker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the first Labour Government of Britain, writing in the *African World* about the non-violent resistance movement now being conducted in South Africa by Africans and Asians, is reported to have said:

> "It is a form of political activity that could not work against a Hitler or a Stalin. Sustained and organized passive resistance also implies a high general standard of education and political discipline; it involves leadership and the capacity to follow leaders. In South Africa this campaign is the consequence of the great improvement in the standards and education of Africans in the Union during the last half century."

Two points in this connection are worthy of comment:

1. That Satyagraha presupposes a high general standard of education among the people.
2. That though Satyagraha succeeded with the British it cannot hope to succeed with a Hitler or a Stalin.

However flattering it may be to a Briton to feel that Satyagraha was possible only because of the education the British conferred on us, and also because the British as a people have a more sensitive conscience than some others, it is necessary to ask ourselves whether these assumptions in regard to Satyagraha are as a matter of fact true.

1. In regard to education as a requirement for Satyagraha, Gandhiji tells us that he learnt Satyagraha, not from the schools he attended, but from his wife who was innocent of all literary education.

> "I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will on the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering of my stupidity involved on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself, and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her, and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence. And what I did in South Africa was but an extension of the rule of Satyagraha which she unwillingly practised in her own person." (*Harijan*, 24-12-'38)

Besides, if we may judge from what happened both here and in South Africa under Gandhiji's leadership, it would appear that so far as his followers went also, most of them were lacking in education such as the British introduced. Thousands of humble men and women who faced *lathi* charges and bullets in our country, as well as those led by Gandhiji in South Africa, were illiterate. In fact, Western education, if anything, tended to prevent people from joining the movement, as such education made them look for comfortable jobs and a high standard of living, while Satyagraha entailed unemployment, loss of Government favour and service, confiscation of property, fines and

imprisonment if not death. What Satyagraha presupposes in people is a capacity to be roused to action, to follow the leader and to face suffering unflinchingly. This is certainly not what was imparted to us through the British system of education. So the credit for the Satyagraha movement cannot, it is clear, be put down to British education. The only element of truth in Mr Walker's statement appears to be that British education awakened the leaders to a realization of what was happening to them under foreign rule. But, as Gandhiji often said, so far as leadership goes, even one good man and true suffices. If he selflessly clings to the right and is prepared to fight to the finish the forces of evil non-violently, he is bound to succeed; for he inevitably gets a following and converts in the end even the oppressor by his voluntary suffering and uncompromising adherence to truth and non-violence. Jesus also, as typifying vicarious suffering in his own person, testified to this when he said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto myself." Human nature the world over, whether educated or not, responds to suffering meekly borne in the cause of truth and justice, and for such suffering British education is by no means a requisite.

2. In regard to Mr Walker's contention that Satyagraha cannot avail with a Hitler or a Stalin, we cannot do better than let Gandhiji answer.

> "You may be right. History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance. If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worth. My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity. But as a believer in non-violence I may not limit its possibilities. Hitherto he and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have." (*Harijan*, 15-10-'38)

> "It is highly probable that a 'Jewish Gandhi' in Germany, should one arise, could function for about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the guillotine. But that will not disprove my case or shake my belief in the efficacy of *ahimsa*. I can conceive the necessity of the immolation of hundreds, if not thousands, to appease the hunger of dictators who have no belief in *ahimsa*. Indeed the maxim is that *ahimsa* is the most efficacious in front of the greatest *himsa*. Its quality is really tested only in such cases. Sufferers need not see the result during their lifetime. They must have faith that, if their cult survives, the result is a certainty. The method of violence gives no greater guarantee than that of non-violence. It gives infinitely less. For the faith of the votary of *ahimsa* is lacking." (*Harijan*, 27-5-'39)

Further, Gandhiji points out that though the dictator may fail to respond to non-violence, ultimately his people will.

> "Herr Hitler is but one man enjoying no more than the average span of life. He would be a spent force, if he had not the backing of his people. I do not despair of his responding to human suffering even though caused by him. But I must refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth. They will someday or other rebel against their own adored hero, if he does not wake up betimes." (*Harijan*, 24-12-'38)

And as for the suggestion that the British are easier for a Satyagrahi to appeal to than the Germans or the Russians, Gandhiji observed:

> "They are as easy, in terms of non-violence, to deal with as anyone else. But not having dealt with anyone else I cannot say from practical experience. All conquerors of India have reacted to what is noble in Indian culture and Indian nature, the Muslims included. I believe the Germans would have done likewise. It may even be that the English reaction has been less than what others' may have been because of their insularity and colour prejudice." (*Harijan*, 13-4-'40)

Comparisons are odious and are not decisive. All that matters is that Satyagraha recognizes no limits. The Satyagrahi believes that it will triumph against all odds. So Gandhiji said:

> "We may not despair of touching the hearts even of gangsters, even if, for the moment, we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall." (*Harijan*, 10-12-'38)

The trouble with most Westerners is that they do not have this undying faith in non-violence. On the contrary, they hold that violence alone can cope with a Hitler or a Stalin, not non-violence. So they arm themselves to the teeth on both sides and plunge the world in devastating wars. As long as the West remains thus unconverted to the limitless potency of non-violence, the United Nations, in which the Western Powers have an over-ruling voice, must per force continue to be more or less futile as an instrument of peace. This is the tragic implication of Mr Walker's contention that Satyagraha cannot expect to succeed with a Hitler or a Stalin.

Commerce Ministry Progress

We are deeply indebted to the Press Trust of India for the information that this Ministry is buying more liquor abroad than before. During 3 months in 1950 it imported over one lakh gallons of ale, beer, stout and what not, while the figure for the same period in 1952 was four lakhs and a half gallons. That is, the quantity quadrupled in two years.

If this note is lucky enough to catch the eye of some good members of Parliament, will they ask the Minister for Commerce if this geometrical progress is calculated to lead us to the nation's cherished goal of prohibition which Gandhiji described as one of the four pillars of Swaraj?

V. G. D.

PLANNING AND SELF-RELIANCE

(*By Suresh Ramabhai*)

While on a visit to his home-province in August last, the Union Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh made a number of speeches at various places. Addressing on August 27, the citizens of Karjat, about 40 miles from Bombay city, he observed:

> "If the 55 three-year *Community Projects*, which were *financed by American capital*, proved to be successful, 25 more similar projects might be launched after the first 55 showed substantial results and 25 more the year next which would be financed by the Government of India and Reserve Bank of India loans." (Italics mine).

Also he gave a warning:

> "If the Community Projects failed there would be no alternative left for achieving the betterment of conditions of the vast masses of people in India."

Thus one can only conclude that India's fate, hanging as it is in the balance, depends on 55 Community Projects financed by American capital. This is one side of the picture.

On the other it may be noted that the draft report of the Planning Commission was released to the public in July 1951 and it was told that the detailed report would be out shortly after, within the period of not more than one year. It has, however, not yet seen the light of the day. The cause of the delay, as pointed out by a message published in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, dated 4th September, 1952, from its Delhi office, is attributed to "America's meagre response to India's needs." The correspondent also says:

> "Taking into account the five-year budget to cover the Five-Year Plan, the deficit is estimated at 200 crores of rupees. Meanwhile, our yearly budgetary situation is also deteriorating".

Without going into the details of the U. S. policy it can be safely said that it is one of preservation of U. S. interests, as has been shown by U. S. rejection of S. African plea at Mexico to increase the price of gold. Its characteristic trait was also recently revealed by Britain's former Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee. Addressing a conference in the North London Borough on September 6, 1952, he remarked:

> "It is difficult to sell British manufactured goods in the U. S. partly because, though they profess free trade for everyone else, they protect themselves, and partly because America has enormous production capacity.
>
> "A very slight recession of trade in the U. S., which hardly affects them, affects the rest of the world, because they are such an enormous unit. It has always seemed to me a little curious that the U. S. was very keen that all of us in Europe should plan our economies but were unplanned themselves."

Surely U. S. capital or expert is not coming here, and quite naturally so, to protect any interest save that of U. S. A country has to look after its economic interests itself. And so should India too.

Here are figures for India's foreign trade:

(In crores of Rupees)

No.	Year	Import	Export	Deficit
1.	1951 (2nd half)	473	355	118
2.	1952 (1st half)	444	312	132

Again, India's trade with East Asian countries (which are perhaps less industrialized than India herself) in 1951-52 showed a deficit of Rs 79.98 crores — a record deficit since 1938.

Further the adverse trend in the balance of payments position noticed in the period July-December, 1951, has continued. It is evident from the figure of sterling balances which has dropped from Rs 781 crores in December, 1951 to Rs 683 crores in June, 1952.

All this goes to show that the Government is moving in a shadow of bankruptcy. Yet our authorities feel that "there is no cause for alarm". Do they propose to meet the situation by bringing in foreign finance — from America, Canada, Australia or Norway etc.? Is this the way that can ever make us self-reliant or self-sufficient?

Allahabad, 29-9-'52

FOR BALANCED DIET

(*By M. P. T. Acharya*)

(For yearly consumption by 360 million Indians)

Cereals	14 oz.	per day	50.4	million tons
Pulses	3 oz.	„	10.8	„ „
Milk	14 oz.	„	50.4	„ „
Non-leafy vegetables	6 oz.	„	21.6	„ „
Leafy „	4 oz.	„	14.4	„ „
Fruits	2 oz.	„	7.2	„ „
Fat & Oil	2 oz.	„	7.2	„ „
Sugar & Gur	2 oz.	„	7.2	„ „
Meat & Fish	3 oz.	„	10.8	„ „
Eggs	1 piece	„	1,31,400	„ pieces

Non-vegetarians require 1 oz. less of pulses and 4 oz. less of milk per day. Only Brahmins i.e. 20 million persons do not eat meat, except in Kashmir, and Bengali Brahmins eat fish. The above total annual requirements include 20 per cent for seed, waste, loss, damage, pilfering and failure of production.

All this can be produced with materials and labour alone and distributed without trade or exchange or barter. But they cannot be produced with money, business and State which require taking rent, interest, profits and taxes — all of which restrict both production and consumption, i.e. distribution, since unless these are paid, there can be no access to the materials needed for production nor distribution of the products. There can never be so much money as to produce as much food and other necessaries at the same time. Even if food is produced for all, there will be over-production, due to money, business and State which restrict and reduce buying. Hence there can be neither full production nor full consumption under money, business and State carried on by whomsoever it be.

All the food production efforts within money, business and State are bound to fail so that there can be only scarcity — and even then more and more people will not be able to buy food. It is both useless and blindness to make food plans within this set-up. It is dangerous not to know it. No hope that way. No Government can feed people — the people alone can do it. The people must be prepared to do so by destroying illusions.

"OUR MENTAL LAZINESS"

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

The English have gone back leaving our land to be ruled by ourselves; but English has remained and persists to rule our minds and education still. There are various kinds of pockets among our people who desire that English might continue as of old in spite of the Constitution of India laying down the limit of 15 years (i.e. upto 1965) for the transition from English to our Indian languages. These pockets are born of the various kinds of vested interests that have gathered round the anti-national use of English during the last century. The habit persists and has brought in its wake, what Gandhiji had so aptly described as *our mental laziness*. If we only shed that mental laziness corroding our creativeness and freedom of the mind, it can be clearly felt that the change-over from English to Indian languages is natural and can easily be achieved within 15 years, if not earlier.

Queerly enough the spokesmen of these pockets at present are crying out against the natural need of readjusting the place of English in our national life and education, in the name of nationalism and India's unity through English! They forget that English India was only a microscopic minority in the great ocean of India's illiterate crores. However they harp on these old slogans, forgetting that the so-called unity through English was, like the Brahminical unity of a superior caste born through Sanskrit, only an English educated aristocracy lording over the millions of India in collusion with the order established by their English overlords. What good came to us through English was in spite of them and only as its by-product. I may not pursue this painful point further.

I have said above that the change-over is to Indian languages and not Hindi only. This needs explanation. There are various ways in which English is being used by us today. The chief are: We use it,

a. As the language of legislation and administration for the Centre as well as the States;

b. As the language of our courts;

c. As the medium of education partially the Secondary and exclusively the Higher;

d. As the medium of inter-State communication for certain functions of the upper few.

The question is to dislodge English from these and substitute suitable media in their proper places. It will not do to put Hindi in all these places. For example, the Centre may take Hindi as its official language. The States for their inter-state business may well adopt Hindi, the official language of the Union; but they will do it with peril to the cause of democracy, culture and education if they commit the mistake of using it in their regions and thus give a go-by to the legitimate claim of the regional languages. True education requires that the language of the region should be the medium of instruction. As the Radhakrishnan Report aptly says, "Through the federal language Indian solidarity must be secured and strengthened, but without sacrificing the educational and cultural advantages of the use of the mother-tongue at all stages of education."

All this is very clear and is accepted by most people. Naturally therefore one feels, what is the difficulty then? I feel it is the question, "Who will bell the cat?" It is the question of the courage of conviction and boldly acting upon it, in other words, of endeavouring to remove the "mental laziness" by our educationalists.

7-11-'52

British Minister of Health and B.C.G. Vaccination

To

The Editor of *Harijan*,

The *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* which is published every two months by the National Anti-Vaccination League, Westminster, London S.W. 1, in its issue of September-October, 1952 has published an editorial article in which it says that in a speech in the third Commonwealth Health and Tuberculosis Congress in London (July 9, 1952) Mr Iain Macleod British Minister for Health, said in reference to B.C.G. Vaccination for tuberculosis:

> "It is not yet felt that the time has come to make the B.C.G. vaccine available for general or indiscriminate use among the population at large. This view, although may be thought unduly restrictive by some, is based on responsible expert judgment and is not due to the limitation of the supply of vaccine or to financial economy."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India now desires at request of doctors here to introduce B.C.G. vaccination for tuberculosis on a mass scale among the people of India. But on the contrary the Minister of Health of the Government of Britain on the advice of medical experts says that B.C.G. vaccination for tuberculosis is "not yet for common use." What has the Government of India to say on this?

Vaccine being made evil by God in its very nature like human slavery cannot be ever made good contrary to the will of God by even the most brilliant medical experts.

54, Woodhouse Road, Colaba, Bombay-5 — SORABJI R. MISTRI

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE ZAMINDARS	.. Gandhiji	337
CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' WORRY	.. Maganbhai P. Desai	337
BACKWARD CLASS DEPARTMENT OF BOMBAY STATE	.. P. L. Mazumdar	338
REORIENTATION OF THE A.I.S.A. WORK	.. A. V. Sahasrabuddhe	339
ALL WEALTH BELONGS TO GOD	.. Vinoba	340
THE IDEAL OF NON-POSSESSING SOCIETY	.. Vinoba	340
SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA	.. Bharatan Kumarappa	341
PLANNING & SELF-RELIANCE	.. Suresh Ramabhai	343
FOR BALANCED DIET	.. M. P. T. Acharya	343
"OUR MENTAL LAZINESS"	.. Maganbhai P. Desai	344
NOTES:		
COMMERCE MINISTRY PROGRESS	.. V. G. D.	342
BRITISH MINISTER OF HEALTH AND B.C.G. VACCINATION	.. Sorabji R. Mistri	344

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